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CHASTA COSTA AND THE DENE
LANGUAGES OF THE NORTH

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By A. G. 'MORICE, O.M.I.

Notes on Chasta Costa Phonology and Morphology. By EDWARD SAPIR. (University of Pennsylvania, The University Museum Anthropological Publications, Vol. II, No. 2, pp. 265-340.) Philadelphia, 1914.

Dr E. Sapir achieved lately what the French could not help calling a veritable *tour de force*. Enlarging upon linguistic material incidentally derived from an Indian, mere bits of an aboriginal language which would not fill one common-sized page, he managed to write in explanation of the same no fewer than sixty-seven pages of first-class philological literature. His *Notes on the Chasta Costa Phonology and Morphology*, are perfectly illuminating, and betray not only a very keen ear but a quite creditable analytic acumen. After thirty-two-years' study of the Déné group of languages, to which his "Chasta Costa" belongs, I am tempted to pronounce Dr Sapir's essay one of the most satisfactory monographs of its kind ever issued on any of the southern Déné languages.

The work does not pretend to be more than mere notes, and so far as completeness is concerned it could not compare with more elaborate productions already published on the Hupa and Navajo dialects. Some might also object to the graphic signs the author has resorted to in transcribing his texts and disapprove of the strange appearance which sometimes results therefrom. His own language might furthermore have been simpler and less Hellenic or Latin in complexion. But I maintain that, with few unimportant exceptions, he has grasped and faithfully rendered not only the phonetics but the morphology of an idiom whose intricacies must be above the average, unless it be not Déné.

I note with special satisfaction in his paper those particular sounds, such as the aspirated *t*'s and *k*'s, as well as the lingual and glottal explosions, which I had always thought, and sometimes asserted, must exist in the southern Déné languages, in spite of the inability of former students to perceive them or of their carelessness in noting down their texts—a presumption for which I was even taken to task.

¹ A further discussion of *Notes on Chasta Costa Phonology and Morphology*, by Edward Sapir. See p. 347 above.

These are as many essential points of the Déné phonetics, so very essential, indeed, that I felt they could not possibly be missing in any dialect claiming relationship to the Déné languages of the North. In Déné the vowels are the flesh of the body: they vary according to the dialect in the same way as the flesh is different in quantity or texture according to the individuals. The consonants are the bones of its make-up, therefore much more important, homogeneous, and persistent, while the grammar may be compared to the arteries, without which blood, that is life, could not circulate therein. But the "clicks" which affect letters or groups of letters are the very nerves which alone enable the Déné body to stand.

I have so often insisted on this point that this simple remark must suffice. I may nevertheless be pardoned for confessing a feeling of satisfaction at seeing my contention of former years borne out by the researches of the latest investigator in the southern field.

Only a very few hiatuses seem to have escaped the notice of Dr Sapir, and I am all the more free to call his attention to this point, as throughout his paper he seems animated by that sense of diffidence which behooves a genuine scholar who enters a new field with the knowledge that he is more of a philologist than of a linguist. Moreover, a mere passing acquaintance with a language cannot, of course, shield one against possible oversights.

I shall therefore make bold to remark that in Déné the desinential radicals of the verbs of vision (*-i*, *-in*, *-en*) are immediately preceded by a stop, or hiatus, which prevents them from being merged into the consonantal element of the pronoun. Thus I do not think I am mistaken when I observe that in *nél̄i*(l), "you are looking at him" (*n̄il'en* in Carrier), the desinence *-i* must be separated from the preceding *l* by a hiatus, which should be shown on paper as prominently as it is expressed by the native speaker.

The same remark applies to *γ̄im* (Carrier *ȳ'en*), *at*, 'wife' (Carrier and Chilcotin *'at*), as well as to the verb *Alaz*, 'he sneezes,' which, barring the medial *l* and final *z*, is the exact equivalent of the Carrier *æl'æs* (same signification).

This hiatus plays a double rôle in the North. While at times it merely cuts asunder, as it were, articulations which would otherwise coalesce into one sound (*n̄il'en*, i. e., *n̄il* + *en*, not *ni-len*), or is prefixed to monosyllables often expressive of distance, remoteness, or even repulsion (*'æn*, Chasta Costa *An*); it also denotes the disappearance of a weak vowel through contact with a stronger one. Thus the indicative present of the verb "to work" is *æs'en* in Carrier, and, normally, its pronominal element *æs* should be developed into *æzæs* in the negative. But the *e*

of the negative particle *le* is stronger than the initial *æ* of *æzæs*; hence the negative of *æsen* is merely *le'zæsten*, the hiatus (') standing here for the vanished *æ*.

The same happens even when a stronger desinential vowel of a word comes in contact with a weaker initial vowel of another. Example: *spa' hutqa huni*, 'I am lucky indeed' (for *spa æhutqa huni*, literally, me-for it-has-happened it-is-so).

The consonant *q* reminds me of Dr Sapir's *dj*. If my own letter represents the same sound which that gentleman has in mind when he uses his double consonant, I must be allowed to object to the latter as misleading. Pronounce it as you will, you are bound to have a double operation of the tongue and mouth when you utter the sound *dja*, the dental one being always distinct from that caused by the fricative *j*, whilst in pronouncing the sound I render by *q* but one operation is needed.

Were one bent on ultra-criticism, he might remark that in Déné all such parts of the body as are naturally twofold are normally dual in meaning, the singular being formed by suffixing a syllable which is generally synonymous of our word 'half' (*i. e.*, half of two = one). According to this rule Dr Sapir's *hwä* must not mean foot, but feet, in the same way as his *la* should be translated hands, not hand.

Dr Sapir's analysis of the short text which closes his essay is simply admirable, and betrays an insight into the morphology of his material which one is at a loss to know where, or how, it was acquired. Scarcely more than one criticism have I to offer on this part of his paper. The last syllable of the compound *dō-at-ti* is not a "noun suffix," as he believes (30). It is a regular verb, or rather a verbal stem, since the pronominal element of the same has disappeared through the process of word formation. *Dō* is the Carrier negation *au*, the Babine *so*, Chilcotin *lla*, Sekanais *ussé*, Nahanaïs *ætū*. These particles or words can, in the North, conveniently be omitted in many cases. They are the equivalents of the French *ne . . . pas*. *At*, as we have seen, means "wife"; *-ti* is the root of the verb *ætī*, "he has."

All English scholars are familiar with the fact that the growth of a language is evidenced not only by the alterations in the material make-up, the morphology, of its component parts, but by the remarkable evolution which those parts occasionally undergo in their meaning while they remain unaltered in their structure. For instance, the word "villain" had in Chaucer's time a quite different value from that which modern usage attributes to it. No Christian of our days would feel flattered by being called the "villain of the Lord," an expression which originally meant the "servant of the Lord."

Likewise, instances of such alterations in the meaning of words are not wanting in American aboriginal philology, though said alterations may not be the result of time, but rather due to other circumstances such as, for instance, linguistic borrowing or changed cultural environment.

An example will make my meaning clearer. There never was any buffalo within British Columbia. When Cree-speaking half-breeds reached the northern interior of that region, in the wake of the Northwest Company traders, they told the natives of a wonderful animal they called *mustus*, which roamed by the million over the immense plains east of the Rockies. Later on, domestic cattle were introduced in the same country and dubbed *mæstus* by analogy with the game the natives had heard so much about—the *u* of *mus* being altered to *æ* conformably to the requirements of the Déné law of phonetic sequence.

So that with time *mæstus* came to be universally understood of domestic cattle, instead of the buffalo to which alone the name is strictly speaking applicable, and when the Carrier had to refer to the latter they called it *t.økæt mæstus*, or prairie cattle (lit. grass-on cattle). Meantime, buffalo remained *mustus* to the Cree who, in turn, gave the name of *awokhâni-mustus*, slave ox, to domestic cattle.

Here we have, therefore, signficatory evolution resulting from the importation of a loan word. In Dr Sapir's "Notes on Chasta Costa Philology and Morphology," there are several terms or roots the meaning of which seems to have undergone an analogous transformation, through the action of time, contact with alien populations or the shifting of environment, unless, of course, we

choose to ascribe it to imperfect information on the part of the essayist.

A characteristic instance of this I find in the word *tc/ac*,¹ which Sapir gives us as the equivalent of the English term "bird." This is evidently none other than the Carrier *tšæž*, which in that language means not "bird" but "feather-down." Is it possible that in this instance a part of one thing should have come to represent the whole thing? This seems to be all the more likely as that one thing is too well known to have ever been taken for another by Dr Sapir's informant.

Color would also seem to be lent to this probability by the fact that *pæn*, which means "roof" in Carrier, denotes a whole house in Chasta Costa. However, it would require no great flight of the imagination to see in that word something like a reminiscence of the time when a Déné habitation consisted almost entirely of a double shelter in the shape of a roof squatting on the ground, as we still see some in the recesses of the North.

A still more curious terminological mutation, which affects both the structure and the sense of a word and is perhaps the result of accident or of growth along lines unknown in the latter regions, is to be found in the Chasta Costa possessive form of the term for "dog," *li*, whose variants are everywhere unimportant. In the South as in the North, the sibilant *l* is converted by the possessive into a common *l*; but the analogy does not go any further. According to Sapir, this possessive entails in Chasta Costa the accretion of a sort of suffix which he writes *tc/e*, the equivalent of my *tše*. Now *litše* means in Carrier, not somebody's dog, but she-dog! Is this again a mere accident, the result of word development or of some other cause?

Another change of meaning in a vocable, coupled, this time, with an anomalous formation, which is perfectly recognizable to a Carrier I find on p. 311 of Dr Sapir's "Notes." There he gives us *t'enī'lat* as the equivalent of the English "you drown," and to this he adds, by way of comparison, the verb *tc'nnállat*, which he represents as the Kato synonym of "it floated there." This circum-

¹ The exclamation mark denotes the "click" in Dr Sapir's texts, and with him as with me *c* = *sh*. Dr Sapir's *a* is my *æ*, almost the sound of *u* in "but," more exactly that of *e* in the French *je, te, le*.

tance is virtually a voucher that our author is conscious of a diversity of significations: to drown is evidently not to float.

But if we turn to the Carrier of the North we meet with a somewhat homonymous counterpart of the former term in *thénîlîlat*, which means not "you drown," or "you float," but "you sink," or rather "thou sinkest."

This may not be the exact synonym of Dr Sapir's verb, though it is nearest to it in meaning; but how are we to explain that the act of drowning is rendered in Chasta Costa by a word the two roots of which seem self-exclusive, while the principal one refers to an act which is the opposite of drowning, namely that of floating?

Thé- and *-lat* are self-exclusive, I have said. For the former, at least in the North, does not merely mean "in the water," as Sapir would have it—*tha-* p. 302, which he gives as "referring to the water,"¹ has really that signification—but it hints at the "bottom of the water" (from the Carrier *ther*, "water-bottom"), while *-lat*, as we have seen, is expressive of the act of staying on the surface of the same.

Thénîlîlat, on the other hand, is easy of explanation and of quite logical construction. The desinence *-lîlat* refers to any precipitate action, and, closely analyzed, the whole verb amounts to thou art precipitately brought to the bottom, that is, thou sinkest. "I drown" is said in Carrier *thû sæzælreh*, "water kills me."

Apropos of water, Sapir gives the verbal stems *-êl* and *-al* as representing the acts of bathing and coming, respectively, while to him the desinence *-ya* is synonymous of going or coming.² There must be a slight inaccuracy here. The first of those desinential radicals (*-êl*) certainly wants the initial hiatus ('); for his *nadaγîlêl*, "we are bathing," is none other than the Carrier *nætşæl'îl*, which has the same value.

As to the verbal stem *-al*, which he believes to mean "to come," I more than suspect that it is but a corresponding form of *-ya*, which he represents as expressing the idea of "going, coming," and should be *-yal*. In the first place, the difference between going

¹ Carrier *næcya*, "I walk along;" *næ-tha-dæcya*, "I walk in the water, I wade." Compare: *tha-Ræł*, "deep" (water); *thé-husKa*, "shallow" (may be analyzed: the bottom, *thé-*, near the surface, *-Ka*).

² P. 323 of his essay.

and coming flows in Déné from the apposition of locative adverbs, or results from a diversity of prefixes, not of a dissimilarity of desinential roots. The suffix *-ya* denotes merely the action of moving about on both feet as a man (there is another for the walk of birds). Such is the meaning in Carrier of the word *næcyā*.

But another form of the same verb, which I call the actualizing form, changes this term and its characteristic desinence into *æcyāl*, which means "I am actually walking" (with both legs). This form is also commonly used in connection with locative adverbs, as in the phrases: *tiz inyał*, "come here"; *hwæz inyał*, "go there"; *ʔæn inyał*, go on (which recalls Sapir's *An γī'āl*, the equivalent, he claims, of "come on").

Dr Sapir furthermore quotes the verb stem *-t/o* (*-to*) as denotive of the act of swimming, while, according to him, that of paddling is rendered by the radical *-xe* (*-ke*). Now, in most northern Déné dialects, the former (*-to*) refers to paddling, while the latter indicates the act of navigating, or moving about in a canoe. Are those roots, with their changed value, new evidence of evolution in the meaning of words?

The verbal stem *-lał*, or rather *-tlał*,¹ to which our author attributes the sense of "to sleep," has in Carrier the value of "to dream of" (with a complement). Might not Dr Sapir's informant have misunderstood his questioner and thus unwittingly misled him? If not, such changes in the meaning of words or roots otherwise so closely related are well worth a moment's reflection.

If Dr Sapir will allow me, I will also observe that the desinence *-tc'ac* (*-thæc*), which he gives as a distinct verbal element,² is nothing

¹ As may be seen by Sapir's rendering: *t'ūlał*, p. 315. The double consonants *ll* and *ts* (both of which may be affected by a click) are of frequent occurrence in Déné and form as many indivisible groups. The syllables of all Sapir's verbs in the first person plural are wrongly cut up: the *t* which he attributes to the penultimate syllable should commence the last one: *-tlał*, *-tšæł*, *-llat*, *-thæc*, etc. Hence several of his verb stems on pp. 323-26 are incomplete. For instance, *-se*, "to cry," should be *-tse* (Carrier *-tso*, though the first person singular of the verb is in *-so*); *-si*, "to cause," should be *-tsi* (Carrier *-tsi*, same remark as to first person sing.); *-lo*, "to laugh," cannot be understood without its *t*, as is shown even by the examples the Doctor adduces in explanation. Were he familiar with the Dénés' syllabic way of writing their own language, he would have been spared this little inaccuracy.

² P. 326.

else than the plural stem of the same verb *nanisthi*, whose derivative *nthæsthîh* effectively means "to lie down, go to bed." That plural stem is in Carrier *-thés* for the present, *-théz* for the past, and *-thæs* for the proximate future.

Likewise, Sapir's verbal desinence *tθl'i* (*tʃi*) is simply the plural form of the verbal stem *-ta*, "to sit," which he gives elsewhere as *-dā*.

Our essayist very properly represents¹ the root *-xwi* (*-kwi*) as denoting the idea of vomiting; and compares it with the Carrier substantive *ku*, "vomiting." He will be pleased to learn that the former is *-kwe* in the Lower Carrier dialect.

Elsewhere he speculates on the value of the verbal elements *l* and *l̥*, and, p. 332, he goes to some trouble in order to explain the passive form of the Chasta Costa verbs. Unless I am very much mistaken, what he adduces as the equivalent of "I am seen, you are seen, he is seen," etc., really means simply: "people see me" (French: *on me voit*), "people see thee," etc.

It may be of interest to state that in Carrier the passive form very often results from a mere change from the second to the third conjugation. Here is an example:

<i>Active</i>	<i>Passive</i>
<i>æ's'en</i> , I do (something)	<i>æz'en</i> , I am done, etc.
<i>îl'en</i> , thou doest	<i>îl'en</i>
<i>æ(yæ)l'en</i> , he does it	<i>æl'en</i>
<i>ætʃæl'en</i> , we do	<i>ætʃæl'en</i>
<i>æl'en</i> , you do	<i>æl'en</i>
<i>æRæ(yæ)l'en</i> , they do it	<i>æRæl'en</i>
<i>îl'en</i> , both of us do	<i>îl'en</i>

When the verb under its active form belongs to the first conjugation, its passive is sometimes represented by a verb which has nothing but the radical desinence in common with the active, and which offers the strange characteristic of being at the same time pluripersonal and unipersonal. The following will be clearer than all possible explanations:

¹ P. 325.

Active

ukwéssi, I love him
ukwéintsi, thou lovest him
yəkentsi, he loves him
ukwétšintsi, we love him
ukwéhłsi, you love him
rikentsi, they love him
ukwéłtsi, both of us love him
ukwa'dəsni, I call him, etc.

Passive

škéidintsi, I am loved, etc.
nķéidintsi
ukwéidintsi
nekéidintsi
nukwéidintsi
pəkéidintsi
nekéidintsi
skɪ'hwotni, I am called, etc.

In the first verb *u-* is the third personal pronoun in the singular, which is here the complement of the verb *-késsi*, which cannot stand alone;¹ *kwé* is the postposition *ké*. "by attraction to," inflected into *kwé* by the stronger vowel *u*; the first of the two *s* represents the first person singular present (which would be *əs*, were it not for the contact with the stronger vowel *e* immediately before); the same pronominal element of the first person (*s*) in turn modifies into *-si* the verbal stem *-tsi*, denoting badness, avarice. This verb, therefore, stands for *ukwéəstsi*, and, considered in its component parts, yields the literal meaning of: "by attraction to him I am bad," or avaricious, that is, I feel so much inclined towards him that I cannot share him with others.

As to the passive form of this verb, it is in reality a regular phrase commencing by the personal pronouns (*s-*, *n-*, *u-*, *ne-*, *nuh-*, *pæ-*), to which is added a unipersonal verb. For instance, the first person can be thus decomposed: *s-*, "me;" *ké-*, "by attraction to," *idintsi*, "one is avaricious."²

The same analysis applies to *ukwa'dəsni* (lit., him for-the-want-of I-say something) and to *ska'hwotni* (me-for one-says something—with a very impersonal meaning), in both of which verbs the reader will not fail to remark the elision of initial *æ-* of *ədəsni* and *əhwotni* represented as usual by the hiatus.

Such passives, however, are not very numerous in Carrier. Their verbal part *-idintsi*, *-hwotni*, varies alone according to the tense: past, *škéidantsi*, *ska'hwodani*; proximate future, *škéidəthłtsi*, *ska'hwodəthatnił*; eventual, *škéidutsi*, *ska'hwodôni*. The negative furthermore affects not only those verbal forms, but even the

¹ Unless it is immediately preceded by its complement, formed of a single word.

² The *d* of *dintsi* refers to self-interest, and belongs to a characteristic form which affects most of the Carrier verbs.

postposition *-ké* of the first. *Skéidîntsi* then becomes *skæleidîtsi*, etc. But enough of this. Entering into the question of the intricacies and niceties of the Carrier verbs would lead us too far.

Lastly, many other verbs obtain their passive merely by changing the second conjugation into the first. Ex.: *nainælnéh*, he distinguishes it; *nanišno*, it is extinguished. It is only right to remark that in such cases the equivalent of our passive is just as much of a primary form as that of our active, both being independent of each other.

If we are to believe Dr Sapir, the Chasta Costa radical *-to* expresses the ideas of both swimming and sucking. The former is rendered by *-pe*, *-pi* in Carrier and the latter by *-tuk* (which is an instance of onomatopoeia). According to the same authority, *-na* represents as well the act of drinking as that of lying on. In Carrier "I drink" is said *æsnai* when the verb is transitive, while the same language boasts an infinity of roots corresponding to the English "he or it lies on," which change according to the nature of the subject. We are also told that in Chasta Costa the desinence *-lec* does duty for "to wager" and "to smoke." In the first case, the Carrier equivalent is *-le*, if the verb is intransitive, and, as to the second, it all depends on what is meant by smoking. If this refers to the favorite pastime of the votaries of the pipe, the Carriers have the root *-læt* (another case of onomatopoeia) therefor. If Dr Sapir means the act of treating with smoke, for instance, meat, those Indians then say: *tsæl æssi*, "I make, or cause to be, soot;" if the complement is a skin, they change this into *læt pe æstlélh*, literally smoke with I make.

To the root *-ya* our essayist attributes an even larger number of significations. It refers, he says, to locomotion, manducation, and the feeling of shame. Normal human locomotion on both legs is, in fact, expressed by *-ya* in Carrier; but the act of eating is rendered by the desinence *-al* among the northern half of the tribe, while the southern part of the same replace it by the root *-yî*. On the other hand, the Chilcotin word for eatable is *tsiyan*, and the general root for manducation is *-yan* in that idiom.

As to the verb "to be ashamed," it is in Carrier one of the two or three whose structure exactly tallies with the English synonym.

Yuya æstli, "ashamed I am," is what they say, and in some compounds the root for shame (substantive, not verb) is *ya*.

With regard to the plural of verbs Dr E. Sapir writes: "Among deictic elements are further to be reckoned certain prefixes that serve to indicate either plurality as such or more specifically third personal plurality."¹ Whereupon he gives us a few examples of verbs commencing in *ya*-. A word or two on this subject, such as we find it in the Carrier and other Déné dialects of British Columbia may be of interest to him, and possibly to others as well.

In the first place, the third personal plural of all the Carrier verbs is rendered by the particle *R*-, *Ræ*- or *Ri*- prefixed to, or coalescing with, the pronominal element—the equivalents of the Chilcotin *qe*- and *qæ*. Added to this is the particular inflexion of the desinential radical for each of the three plural persons when it is a question of a verb of human locomotion on both legs (*-ya* = *-tił* in the plural), of locomotion on all fours (*-kret* = *-as*), of running (*-kraih* = *-ras*), of station (*-ta* = *-tse*), of cubation (*-thi* = *-thés*), of natation (*-pi* = *-il*, first conjugation for the singular, third for the plural), of navigation (*-ke* = *-il*, first conjugation for both singular and plural), of physical feeling (to suffer, to swoon: *-zit* = *-téh*), of ejection with a human complement (to throw: *-néh* = *-tił*, first conjugation for the singular, second for the plural), of bursting into laughter (*-tsit* = *-kæk*). The verbs of flotation make their plural as the verbs of navigation.

All of these plural desinences, and indeed the singular desinences as well, furthermore undergo material changes according to the tense.

Then there are the objective verbs, some of which have for all their tenses a desinential plural of their own. Ex.: *nenæs'aih*, "I put (in a certain place) a single object with no special characteristics;" *nenæstle*, "I put many such (in the same way)." *Adiñtai*, "it (a single unspecialized object) is put in a hole;" *adilya*, "several such objects are put in the same place."²

¹ "Notes," p. 306.

² It will be noticed that the plural-forming particle of the third person is wanting in this verb. It is used only in connection with human subjects, and even then it disappears whenever the subject is itself in the plural. Ex.: *ṭedæKul ṭṣiyauh hwenti*, "all the girls went away" (instead of *hweRantił*).

We now come to the real verbs of plurality. They are characterized by the element *næ-* (*ne-* and sometimes *no-*, when in direct contact with stronger vowels) introduced before the pronominal syllable, the reduplicative prefix, or again the negative particle. Here are a few instances:

<i>Common Verbs</i>	<i>Verbs of Plurality</i>
<i>tha-dæssel</i> , I cut up in various lengths with an axe	<i>thanæ-dæssel</i>
<i>thænna-skræs</i> , I wash (linen, skins)	<i>thænnæna-skræs</i>
<i>pæ'-dæstcæz</i> , I bind it	<i>pæne'-dæstcæz</i>
<i>tsé-sæ'a</i> , it is straight	<i>tsénæ-sæ'a</i>

As may be seen in the case of *thænnaskræs*, the pluralizing form sometimes affect the verbal desinence. It changes that of the present, and the two futures into that of the past, which then remains unchangeable.

Should the subject or complement be evidently plural or imply such number, the verb of plurality is not resorted to, unless one wants to draw attention to the fact that he refers to a multiple object or several persons.

Another kind of pluralizing verbs, which are perhaps the ones Dr Sapir had in mind when he penned the above quoted remark, do indeed commence with the prefix *ya-*; but they mean much more than the common verbs of plurality of which I have just given a few instances. They refer not merely to several, but to all. In other words, they imply totality rather than simple plurality. The very substantive verb to be (*æstli*, I am) can be thus affected. *kînli*, "they are;" *yakînli*, "they are all, or at least in very large numbers."¹

Sometimes the prefix *ya-* denotes also a repeated action (especially if followed by the clement *-das-*) rather than a plural complement. Examples:

<i>Common Verbs</i>	<i>Verbs of Totality</i>
<i>æstah</i> , I cut with a knife in a slashing way	<i>yastah</i> , I cut to pieces with a knife
<i>æsquł</i> , I tear	<i>yasquł</i> , I tear to pieces
<i>thæskat</i> , I throw away with a shovel	<i>yaidaskat</i> , I throw away on all sides with a shovel, I scatter, etc.
<i>dæsnat</i> , I split	<i>yaidasnat</i> , I split in very many places

¹ Strictly speaking, they imply totality, but the Indians are so addicted to the practice of exaggerating that such verbs practically refer to large numbers only.

Oftentimes these verbs combine the crement *næ-* indicative of plurality with the prefix *ya-* which denotes a large number, or even totality, and may furthermore take the pluralizing particle *æ-* proper to the third person plural, as may be seen in the following:

<i>lɛcan</i> , she is with child	<i>yanoltcan</i> (contraction of <i>yanææltcan</i>), they are all with child
<i>ucyul</i> , I blow repeatedly on (as a shaman)	<i>yanæpucyul</i> , I blow repeatedly on all

The desinence of the first verb means "womb" in Carrier. Déné phonetics always contract *æRæ-* into *o-*; hence the peculiar form of totality noticeable in that verb. In *ucyul*, the real signification of which is "I exorcize" in English, we have still another category of verbs, the frequentative. The original form of the same is *æcyul*, "I blow." When one is told that the pretended exorcism of the shamans consists in incessant blowing on the part of the body which is affected by disease, he will realize the appropriateness of the frequentative form to express the nature of their operations.

In *yanæpucyul* we have a further instance of a weak vowel (*æ* of *pæ*, "them") disappearing under the influence of a stronger vowel (initial *u* of *ucyul*). That compound stands for *yanæpæucyul*.¹

Very often also the verbs have not only a pluralizing but a totalizing form, as is the case in the following: *tharænišnai*, "they are drunk;" *thanonišnai*, "many are drunk;" *yatharinatnai*, they are all drunk; *æRæništæt*, "they are drunk with tobacco;" *noništæt*, "many are drunk with tobacco," *yarinatæt*, "they are all drunk with tobacco."

The dissection of these two series of verbs is quite interesting. The desinence *-nai* of the first denotes the act of drinking, while the prefix *tha-* indicates that something stronger than milk, namely "fire-water," has been absorbed. *æ-* is the usual particle of the third person plural, and *-niš-* shows that the above mentioned potations have been excessive, being attended with fatal results.²

¹ Were not the frequentative form intended, the sequence of two vowels in *u* would be against the principles of Carrier phonetics.

² These verbs belong to still another class, that of the verbs of error, which denotes an action with unforeseen, or fatal, results. Almost all the Carrier verbs can be clothed with this significant form, which, in common with the frequentative and other forms, constitutes a new series of verbs.

The reader will not fail to remark how this accretion *-niš-* is converted into *-na-* under the influence of initial *ya-* of totality (*yatharinatnai*).

In the second verb *-tæt* is onomatopoeic. It denotes the act of smoking, and is intended to reproduce the peculiar noise made by the lips when pulling at a pipe. As to *noništæt* the reader will have guessed that it is a contraction of *næræništæt*, prompted by the phonetic rule already alluded to.

Before dismissing the question of the verbs in *ya-* referred to by Dr Sapir, it may be worth the while to observe that, independently from the value of that prefix as a multiplicative element, it is also the root of numerous verbs meaning "to land, to go (or take) ashore." Here are some examples illustrating that new rôle:

- yasæskeh*, I land in a boat.
- yasæcyaih*, I land on foot (as on the ice).
- yasæzkraih*, I land while running.
- yasæskuh*, I land in a sleigh.
- yasæstzûit*, I land while skating.
- yasæzkret*, I land on all fours.
- yasæzkuh*, I land on one leg.
- yasæstlat*, I land floating on the water.
- yasæspih*, I land swimming.
- yasæstah*, I land in a balloon, flying.
- yasæstzas*, I land hopping about like a bird.
- ya'næs'æs*, I land while limping about.
- yadæzquh*, I land while throwing out the throwing stick (game).
- yasæzqéh*, I land under the influence of anger.
- yasæstcih*, I land with head erect.¹
- yasæzllas*, I land on crutches.²
- yadæzthiis*, I land with a walking stick.³
- yasæstzûit*, I land while chasing large game,
- etc., etc.
- ya-tsi'-dæs'aih*, I, being a worthless fellow, land on foot.⁴
- ya-ké-næz'ih*, I land by stealth.⁵

¹ The desinence *-tcih* of the present becomes in the past *-tcæn*, which means "stick, tree," and hints at the subject of the verb landing while "stuck up" as the trunk of a tree.

² From the root *-tla*, "posterior," because in such a case the person seems to an Indian to be walking with his posterior instead of his legs.

³ From *thæz*, "walking stick," which is the desinence assumed by the verb for the past tense.

⁴ From the root *-tsi'*, which, as we have already seen, is the Carrier for "bad."

⁵ Literally: I land hiding (*næz'ih*) my feet (*ké*).

ya-cæn-dîjyaih, I land on foot and while singing.¹
ya-tso-dîjyaih, I land on foot while crying.²
ya-tsé-sæzt s, I land nodding right and left.³
ya-kwæ-distéh, I land on my knees.⁴
ya-ket-uzæzkeh, I land in a canoe with the intention of buying.⁵
ya-tsé-næstaih, I land on foot under the influence of fear.⁶
ya-na-tsé-næstaih, I land again on foot under the influence of fear.⁷
ya-na-hwe-næsqa, I commenced again to land on foot,⁸
 etc., etc., etc.

The compound, *dō-at-ti*,⁹ leads me to remark on the evident inferiority of the Chasta Costa compared with the northern Déné languages, especially those of British Columbia. "Not-wife-he has" appears almost childishly simple in construction by the side of the negative forms prevailing there. Indeed, this phrase recalls to mind the similarly inelegant mode of expressing themselves adopted by the Sekanais of Bear lake (Fort Connolly), British Columbia, when they attempt to speak Carrier. *Awontuh* 'at æti, "no a wife he has," they would then say instead of the classical *au* 'at hîih, which contains three distinct negative elements: first, *au*, "not;" second, *hî-*, made up of negative *l* and pronominal crement *æ* inflected into *î*; and, third, the verbal stem *-ti* altered into *-tih* by the same negative prefix.¹⁰

Moreover, if, as is well known, the natural tendency of languages is to disintegrate with time their constitutive elements, that is, to pass from synthesis to analysis, the material presented to the

¹ *Cæn* means "song."

² From the root *tso*, "crying."

³ From *tsé-*, equivalent in compounds of *-tsi*, "head," and *-tîés*, stem of the verb "to throw."

⁴ From *-kwæt*, "knee."

⁵ From *Ket*, which denotes the act of buying. The *uzæz-* of the verb furthermore indicates that the person has "arrived" at the place.

⁶ This is one of the verbs of error, as can be seen by the particle *tsé-*, which inflects the *-cyaih* of *næcyaih* into *-staih* (*næstaih*).

⁷ The reduplicative prefix *na-* is here introduced.

⁸ To the reduplicative particle the initiative prefix *hwe-* is here added. The verb is in the past tense (*-qa* instead of *-taih*, which is itself altered from *-yaih* by *na-*), because such verbs are never used in the present tense.

⁹ See footnote 82, p. 337.

¹⁰ Strange to say, while, considered in its constitutive elements, this compound should mean "he has no wife, he is unmarried" in Carrier as well as in Chasta Costa, usage has given it the sense of "he did not get married" in the former dialect, since "he got married" is said *'a-ti* (with a contraction similar to that of the Chasta Costa).

public by Dr Sapir, meagre as it may be, suffices to prove that the Chasta Costa dialect is much less primitive, because more analytic, than the Déné idioms of the Canadian North.

To mention but one point of the grammar of the latter, they form their futures by means of particular inflections, or even excrescences, of the pronominal crements. Thus the proximate future of the Carriers changes the present *æs'æs*, "I sneeze," into *æthîs'æs*.

Quite often also, the desinential radical of said verbs undergoes itself a characteristic transformation indicative of the new meaning assumed. For instance, *dæsnî*, "I say," becomes *dæthasnîl* in that same future.

On the other hand, the Chasta Costa decomposes and scatters, as it were, the elements of its verbs, much after the way the modern Romance languages have treated the parent Latin. Thus to form the above mentioned future it simply adds the suffix, or rather separate particle, *thê* to the present.¹ No more any of the two or three original inflections of the Déné negative, no more any internal growth, but instead an independent monosyllable, for the future: such are, indeed, unmistakable tokens of analytic disintegration which bespeaks unfavorable ground or unpropitious environment for the life of the language.

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¹ The words Sapir gives as synonymous of "I shall sneeze, I shall look at him," etc., should be translated: "*If* I sneeze, *if* I look at him," etc., in Carrier, *thê* and *te* being in that language the conjunction *if*.

